551 As seen by the list, two categories of names exist. The adults possess a name of their own. The children are named after their parents—son, or daughter, of so and so. The name used in this case is usually that of the mother (a5/a12 (but who is not a child), A16/a19/a20); but not always: a8 and a9, whose mother is dead, are both called after their father, daughters of Tairiisu. As concerns a23, who is a little baby, a wide divergence manifests itself among our informants (it must not be forgotten that they are children, and that their information is uncertain), and the name of Karlokineru, daughter of Karlolesu, her father, has been taken even though her mother is living. But, as will be seen farther on, during our stay A21, a22, and a23 are confused in the same borderline way. On the other hand, the fact that the names of Kiatorekineru and of Idonerekineru could be chosen for a20 and a22 suggests that they are not the daughters of a18, but parallel cousins of her daughters. If such is not the case, the two names may be part of a collection, or have been attributed wrongly to their supposed holders.

[553 ●881] Adolescents receive their names from the chief at the moment of puberty. The name giving is a point to which we shall return later on. The fact that certain adults are designated on our list by a technical term is undoubtedly explained by the fact that our informants did not know their true names. Nevertheless, it must be noticed that, in the two cases being discussed, a12 is a pregnant woman and a22 a woman who is nursing a child. Both are submitted to complex prohibitions. A special prohibition rests perhaps on the name of individuals placed in certain situations.

[40] Whatever the case may be, these are the only names which we have been able to obtain and, regarding the prohibition which covers them, in the course of this report, we will not use them more than they are used in the daily life of the Nambikwara Indians. We shall now give some information concerning the individuals composing the group studied.

854 From this time on, the life of the Nambikwara infant goes on as we have described, and without there being much differentiation according to sex. These differences begin to appear only at the ap-
●881 proach of puberty. At this time, the girls adopt a completely new behavior. They allow themselves great liberties, speaking brutally to their entourage and [109] amusing themselves with obscene acts. The fact is that the ceremony of puberty, which coincides with mar-
[553] riage, marks a decided change in her life and it is also upon that occasion that she receives her name. The Nambikwara women marry
582 very soon after their first menstruation. The polygamy of the chiefs
[595] creates a permanent deficit of women, and the newly available wife is impatiently awaited. According to our informants, it is the young
584 girl who indicates to her parents which of her potential husbands she wishes to marry. She says that she "wishes to marry quickly" (ikĩndurige, b1); the term of dialect a1 for "to marry" being ouensaikititu, literally: "to make a husband," it seems that, as has been affirmed, the initiative belongs to the girl:

48. inka (ni) durednjẽn — durẽnje (b1)
"I wish to marry quickly" [says the girl]. "Marry," says the mother] (?)

Actually, it seems that the marriage is decided from infancy by an agreement between the parents. Farseeing parents must prepare far in advance the marriage of their son, for otherwise the latter risks not finding an available woman. Brothers-in-law have often indicated to us that their children were promised to one another.

881 At the time of puberty, the young girl is completely isolated for a period of from two to four months. She lives in a specially constructed shelter some distance from the village, and lives there alone, observing a series of alimentary and social taboos. During this period, her mother feeds her and takes care of her. The period of segration ended, songs and dances take place. Her shelter is torn down and "the mother takes back her child." Then the ceremony proper of marriage takes place. It is prepared by hunting and fishing, expeditions and is carried out amidst chants and dances:

49. ãrige ãũngnerage denano inŝira ãikira ãiknira tããta halonoo tatlĩkta ãindage hntimbãta ũrrige imãgãra imãgãra (b1)
Go get fish, the women arrive, arrive, to broil [the fish] in the square go out, sing, whistle, play the flute, play the flute.

585 The union of the husband and wife is pronounced by the chief who places in the mouth of each a large piece of fish. (1)

831

1. It has already been suggested (Kunike, "Der Fisch als Fruchtbarkeitssymbol bei den Waldindianern Südamerikas, Anthropos, VII 1912, p. 206-229) that the fish could be a sexual symbol among the South American Indians. Tastevin has vigorously criticized this hypothesis (Le poisson symbole de Fécondité ou de Fertilité chez les Indiens de l'Amérique du Sud, id., IX, 1914, p. 405-417). However, the Nambikwara ritual of marriage seems to confirm the first theory. Moreover, fish is directly treated as the symbol of sexual relations in the legend where Maire-Pochy makes a girl pregnant by [110] making her eat the fish which he himself had fished. As the origin of this Tupi story is certainly Andean (Kunike, loc. cit.; Métraux, p. 12-13; Ehrenreich, Ueber die Verbreitung und Wanderung der Mythen bei den Naturvölkern Südamerikas, Congrès international des Américanistes, Stuttgart, 1904, p. 663) we have there a supplementary piece of information concerning the affinity of the Nambikwara with the cultures of the North and West.

●881 [110] There is no puberty ceremony for the boys. This is replaced by a ritual of initiation which takes place toward the ninth or tenth year, apparently. It is composed of two essential operations, [553 304] the giving of a name, and the piercing of the lip and of the nasal septum to place some wood ornaments there. The first operation is done directly by the chief, the second by a companion whom he designates to this effect:

50. uetnoãdige iochãdige uilikade uelikãdeli'kinere nukeaiore judotige juroenie nikama jurojotige (b1)
When the boy is grown the chief, the chief gives him a name. A companion pierces his lip to put in the ornament. He [the chief] orders the hole [for the ornament] to be made.

• • • • •

2: Lévi-Strauss E-5 (1938-1939)1948
SP17 Nambicuara SP17

tainship is not hereditary; the chief, when old or sick, designates his successor from the ablest men of the group. The chief's authority is slight; it depends wholly on the good will of the family heads.

Relations between neighboring bands are inspired both by fear and by the desire to exchange goods. Warfare, therefore, is closely connected with barter. Groups not acquainted with each other use ritual speech when they meet.

Before starting a war expedition, a divinatory rite is performed with special songs and dances. An arrow is hidden by the shaman, the outcome of the expedition being pressaged by its appearance the following day.

LIFE CYCLE

Childbirth.—After the delivery of a child, the placenta is buried in the bush and both parents are subjected to rigid prohibitions concerning food, the use of ornaments, and social contacts.

Puberty.—The initiation rite for young men consists of piercing their lips and nose and giving them their adult personal name. At her first menstruation, a girl is isolated for several months in a special shelter outside the village, where she is given ritual food by her mother. At the end of the rite, she takes a long bath in the river; this also constitutes the first step of the marriage ceremony.

Both cross-cousin and avuncular marriages (see p. 367), are often planned by parents for their infant children. Marriage is celebrated by festivals, banquets, and dances. The union is pronounced by the chief. Fish and fishing are important both before and during the ceremony.

Separation is frequent, the chief cause being that the man seeks a younger and prettier woman. There is no social sanction of adultery, except that the seducer is advised by his companion to go away for a while so as to avoid the husband's revenge. A murderer also flees vengeance.

Death.—Some groups of *Nambicuara* bury their dead in a circular pit, the corpse being placed in a crouching position. Others leave the corpse to decompose in an elongated ditch and later wash the bones in the river, put them in a basket, and bury them in the village, which is then abandoned. Weapons, implements, adornments, and other property of the deceased are destroyed, but his garden—if he owned one—is abandoned only for a few months. Later anybody may cultivate it.

ESTHETIC AND RECREATIONAL ACTIVITIES

Art.—Most *Nambicuara* groups are completely ignorant of drawing, although some groups decorate calabashes with dots and straight and sinuous lines. These are conventionalized reproductions of realistic designs found among other groups.

853 252 nail she opened the rat and threw the viscera and the rat on the coals. Within 15 minutes that rat was eaten, entrails and all, while Kaoro and I looked on in a state of horrified fascination. [862] Children thus begin by eating broiled meat and fish; pieces of sour, gritty manioc cake are given to them at a more advanced age.

PUBERTY

881 [304] When a boy reaches the age of 14 or 15 he has his upper lip and the septum of his nose pierced with a sharpened fibula of a monkey ("macaco-prego"). One man holds the boy's arms, another his head, while an older male relative performs the piercing. Small plugs of bamboo are then placed in the holes. The following night the shaman leads the band in singing and dancing. Food is prepared in large quantities and offerings are made to the ghosts who are believed to be present at the ceremony. [553] The boy is now given a name which he will keep throughout his life. If the boy's father is dead he will use his father's name. If the father is alive he will use the name of some dead member in his grandfather's generation. In this way names are passed from one generation to another. An important part of the boy's puberty ceremony is the ritual beating administered by the old men of the band. He is now permitted to take part in the singing and can be present when the sacred flutes are played in the flute hut. Although this creates an attitude of obedience to the older men, he still continues to be abusive toward the women of the band. His unmarried female cross cousins now begin to notice him and openly show their desire to go hunting with him.

The puberty ceremony for girls is much more elaborate. After a girl has her first menses her father builds a small hut in the center of the camp, in which the girl is secluded. She must remain in this hut day and night and is attended by her female relatives. [202] The chief then calls all members of the band together, even sending messengers to distant hunting parties. When the band is united the chief organizes a hunt in which all the men take part, and they must remain away from the camp until the moon is full. [251] While on the hunt they accumulate a great quantity of smoked meat. When the moon is full, the men send a messenger to the camp to whom the women give some of the

881 baked manioc and other food which they have been preparing. When the messenger leaves with the food it is a sign that the men will return to camp after sunset.

[302 314] Before the men arrive the women wash the girl and paint her with a mixture which includes latex from the rubber tree. A series of dots are painted on her face, breasts, abdomen, and thighs (pl. 6, *c* and *d*). When the men come in they dance in front of the girl's hut. She then comes out and is given a name and everyone tries to give her a necklace or some other object. During the night men and women join in the dance, holding hands and dancing in a circle, the dance steps being stamped out with the right foot in the direction in which the circle is moving. A special puberty song is also sung.

881 841 278 The Nambicuara tell of a strange medicine known only to the shamans which is given to girls during the puberty ceremony. It is a blue liquid which, when taken internally, stops menstrual bleeding for the remainder of the girl's life. The Waklítisu claim that they do not use it but that the other Eastern Nambicuara band do. The missionaries informed me that the Kitánrhu use this medicine, and the missionaries seemed to think that it was effective.

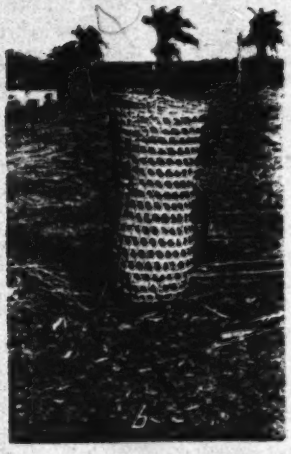
MARRIAGE

582 585 There is no special marriage ceremony, for when young people go through the puberty rites they are ready for marriage and a mate is selected for them by their parents. The young man, who 584 is to become the husband of a girl just out of 585 seclusion, goes to her parents and helps his future father-in-law build a small hut, and when it is finished the young man tells the girl to come out hunting with him. She takes a burden basket and they go off into the woods. In the afternoon the man builds a fire and tells the girl to prepare some food and honey. After the food has been eaten he tells the girl to come and lie beside him near the fire. She is supposed to resist and he takes a stick and threatens her. He then has sexual intercourse with her, and when they come back to camp that night they are accepted as a [587] married couple. When wives are acquired by inheriting the widow of a brother or by abduction from other bands, no ceremony is held.

[P. 104 (1)]

4: Oberg E-5 (1949) 1953 SP17 Nambicuara SP17

372
316
415
482



881
301
302
291
142

PLATE I.—Nambikwara women.—a, Cassava-making fan. b, Nambikwara burden basket. c and d, Nambikwara girl with necklace and painted designs in preparation for puberty ceremony. (By courtesy of Rev. L. Bandeira.)

[p. 136 (I)]